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out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material.

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed.

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires.

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned.

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inche ta eimi
deuman piuke
fente ini ayufiel
kimwe laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
felen meu feipien
eimi ta sakin domo.

[551] Free translation.—It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peuman
kuifi meu kai
welu fele pulai
alka pülelen.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a lapwing[15] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.—In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[15] Fray Félix José de Augusta (Diccionario araucano-español [Santiago, 1916], II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collío described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

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Man's Reply

ñuke anai ñuke
ñochi mülten kimei
mute dungulmi
küllatu piuke ngüen fun
piukeye niye eli
fele kayu müten
tayu poyen külen
inchiu meu ta
dungu kilpe che
inchiu mülten kisu.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor (literally, piuke, "heart"). If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

kodi anai kuñi
müna küme küllü
tami feipi fiel
ruf kimu lan tafei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke. 539 593

[15]Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart." 601

[16]A woman calls her husband kuñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

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Woman's Song No. 3

ngüru peumun
ni wesayuun mew
chum nguen afui
femguei feleaei.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a fox. It was bad for me, but there is no help for it now, since that is the way it turned out to be.

Interpretation.—After having been married for two years or so, a wife has come to realise that her husband is like a fox,[1] in the sense that he is given to thieving and wrongdoing.[2] Interested auditors, acting on this hint, make it a point to advise the husband to mend his ways. They also remind him that he has now been married long enough to realise that he ought to settle down and accept the responsibilities of a married man.

Man's Reply

mülna weza pimi
mai vichi nuke
femkefuli ofge
fachi antü kimgue
eimi mew mülen
pual ñi leliien
weza dungu aini.

Free translation.—Things are not as bad as you have said, my little cousin (wife). If I have done anything wrong, it's all over now. Only on you do my eyes gaze. Let everything bad be ended.

Interpretation.—The husband expresses remorse for his errors and promises to mend his ways at once and henceforth to keep his mind only on his wife.

513 [1] It is a Mapuche convention that a man whose faults are publicized in an assembly song must neither show anger nor seek to punish his wife. Nevertheless, an imminent lame runs through the husband's reply to Woman's Song No. 2, and the wife's counterreply is distinctly rancillatory.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

Woman's Counterreply

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fenin amai kofi
fami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula may fi pinke
femiki mi kimel
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

tod-cod peuma
Nüme peuman
fei neu felen
Ñi rume küme filu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[40]

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rumel ze ko peuman
famguechi fi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[626]

[40]This song and the next two were termed pilmai kuan ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Coliño. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

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539 dirt make mud, and that is far from good.

Interpretation.—A wife sings in this vein to make it known [592] that she is maltreated by her husband's family, with whom she has to live according to the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence. On hearing such a complaint people speak to the singer's parents-in-law, urging them to be more considerate of their daughter-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 6

weda lefkei puñmo
dungu allkutun
fotum müten müllei
domo nguerke lai.

Free translation.—Things are very bad with me. My father-in-law pays attention only to his son, while I am dismissed as if I were dead.

Interpretation.—Once again the strain put on a woman by [592] the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence is brought out. A wife is a newcomer to her husband's household and is very much subject to her father-in-law throughout his lifetime.[10]

Woman's Song No. 7

weda peuman
trafia müten
ñi fillka duam
me peuman müten.

Free translation.—I had a bad dream just last night. On account of my brother-in-law (fillka) I dreamed of nothing but dung.

539 Interpretation.—This song expresses unhappiness because
592 a woman's brother-in-law is about to marry. Through the workings of the custom of unilocal patrilocal residence his marriage means that another woman will come to live in the singer's household and will share in the conduct of its affairs. Women who are married to brothers often are so hostile that

[10]There is reason to believe that in former times a mature man maintained strong control over the inmates of his household. Normally, these consisted of his wives and unmarried offspring and his married sons and their wives and unwed children.

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they call each other medomo ("feces woman").[9]

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 8

re kochü dungu
piyeninga welu
afkerkelu kochüitun
fei ula fre letui
tami dungun
ellaka feipi feli.

Free translation.—At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.—Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Collío expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing in this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household.

Woman's Song No. 9

maicoño kuntrul
inaful inche meu
pün-pün kilai

[9]Cf. De Augusta, op. cit., I, 131.

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inche pülle müten
fenguechi peuman
tañi ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[21] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my nadu ("husband's sister").

539 592 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenan-kun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[22] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[23]

539 584

Aiñe ngue meu
ella lelien feichi
elu ad laen
rume kutrantun
tami feen fiel
re kura pinke
ñtruf niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[21] De Augusta, op. cit., I, 138, identified ñuñuñe as la tortola, the turtledove (Zenaida auriculata).

[22] Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law move into her household.

[23] "Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dukultun ül ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

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Why must you ever show me nothing but a heart of stone?

Interpretation.—A boy sings in this fashion to his sweetheart, either during a family visit to her home or at an assembly where members of both families are present. It reveals the fact that he has failed to win the girl of his choice, and it also serves to test her reaction. In accordance with Mapuche conventions it is not proper for a young woman to accept a proposal too quickly or too directly. Hence, she answers in the manner of the reply given below. If the affair reaches a stalemate the suitor's father, confident of the singer's sincerity, may take steps leading to a formal betrothal.

Woman's Reply

müna koila wentru
piuke meu feipilai
re mellfu-ün meu
müten feipi kei
angue ta pengue
kille kei müten
piuke elika lei.

Free translation.—Men are all liars, they speak only with the lips, not with the heart. They show their faces uncovered, but not their hearts.

Interpretation.—By singing in such a vein, a girl who is being courted makes it clear that she is not to be taken lightly. The implication is that she may consider a serious offer of marriage but that she is unwilling to take part in a mere flirtation.

Man's Song No. 2

chumül anchi
inche kiman
tami piuke
ni inchü ngueael
feipi keeli
feichi dungu
allkutu anai
küme pichi ñuke.

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Free translation.—When will the time come when I shall know what is in your heart? Why don't you say the word that will allow us to be united? Please listen to me, my little cousin.

Interpretation.—A lover will sing in this way if a sweetheart continues to show reluctance even after some of the preliminaries to marriage have been carried out. The intent is to persuade the girl to set a wedding date.

Woman's Reply

prolei ñi piuke
feipi keeli arol
piuke ta pekan
fam tuku keel
troki kifilngue
rulpa fingue
amulechi antu
fei ula kimaimin.

Free translation.—At this moment my heart is tied in a knot, so I cannot reply. The heart is not a toy to be lightly given away. Please do not hurry me. Let the ever-moving sun go on, then you will learn what is best.

Interpretation.—In these words a girl expresses her unwillingness to set a definite wedding date. Her song implies that she may yet be willing to marry her suitor, but is not interested in a casual love affair.

Man's Song No. 3[*]

faaNu mukuida
amulerpu fun
welu pela eyu ñuke
chew anta mülei
tawi piuke am
inche kutran piuke
eimi ayeye-en
papai anai papai

[*]Strictly speaking this song is not rendered in public. It deals with a request for a private love affair and is addressed only to the girl concerned. Nevertheless, the lover may make his plea during the course of a large assembly.

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chumül chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[33] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[34] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[35]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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koñi anai koñi
müfüchi ñuke
rume piyaimi
welu rüpü kiñe
kiso lelmi rume
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me ñuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[36] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a [illegible] ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their ñuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[33] Tami piuke am means literally, "your heart soul." However, am also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where is the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[34] For the use of papai see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[35] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[36] Compare footnote 15.

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daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[39] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 582 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (koñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[39] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

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The assembly songs also serve to call attention to several items of Mapuche religion. Belief in dreams as omens is frequently reiterated, and there is one interesting example of the widely held notion that heart, soul, shade, and reflection form a single complex. Furthermore, there are some references to bird and animal lore, with mention being made specifically of the deer, fox, vulture, lapwing, turtledove, hen, and rooster.

In conclusion, it may be said that these songs give proof of the high poetic quality of Mapuche oral literature. At the same time they throw light on numerous aspects of social organization and provide important clues to an understanding of the interplay between Mapuche culture and personality development.

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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Cofiaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "asi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up *and down while singing a repetition of "tsu." On occasions persons* were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "guch" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 A 60-year-old Cofiaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "ahhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Cañaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepún area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of Ilenpin plants to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Cañaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepún area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. According to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishments—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "aai." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. There he wanted to come down again, but he could not. There he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. There they finished two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran clickety pegleg the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was acquainted to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

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● 539 skunk then said, "Let us dart eight little sticks like we dart arrows. [These are darted toward a goal.] If you win, then I will take your poncho and let you have mine." The skunk won. But the fox who had forcibly taken the skunk's poncho by now threw it into the fire where it burned up. Then the skunk sat down and cried, and said, "My mother will spank me." Then three very young children came walking along and said to the skunk, "Don't cry; before long you will find a better poncho than you had." But that was not all: The fox then ordered one of the children to split wood, another to build the fire, and the third to put the olla on the fireplace. After the water boiled, the fox took the three children and put them into the olla. As soon as they were cooked, he ate them.

One of "the other kind" as told to a 14-year-old boy by his 80-year-old grandmother:

It was in ancient times. There was a very rich man who had many animals in his meadow—he was so rich that he could not count his animals. This rich man had two dogs. He thought of these dogs as his two sons: they understood all that they were told and they carried out his orders. These two dogs were accustomed to being sent to the meadows to bring home animals that were to be slaughtered. When the rich man was no longer satisfied to eat jerked meat, he sent his dogs to the meadows to fetch animals.

The following nonhistorical tale was told to a 12-year-old boy by his 34-year-old uncle; the uncle's grandfather had told it as having happened when he (the grandfather) was a child:

A puma had four cubs, and lay in her den with them. While lying there she heard some cries and whining. It was dogs she was hearing. The dogs were coming nearer the den. The cubs ran out and away. The puma, too, leaped out of the den and over a bush of quila. But the dogs chased her. Then the puma climbed up a tree and the cubs followed her. The owner of the dog came and cut down the tree. The dogs killed the puma and ate the little ones.

The two following stories, told by Cofiripe men (33 and 34 years of age) are true historic events, so the informants said. Said one:

My grandparents told me that old Mapuche said that from very early times one could enter caves at one end of Lake Caburgua near here, walk underneath the lake, its full length, and then under the complete length of Lake Pillaila and come out at the other end of Lake Pilaifa; that our people formerly hid under these lakes when their enemies came upon them—like they formerly did from what is now Argentina; they say that the entrance to the cave under Lake Pillaila can still be seen.

The other informant then took his turn:

There was an old lazy Mapuche man, but a very intelligent one. He lived off the rest of the people. One day he saw many Mapuche coming up the path. He hurried to the river nearby and stuck a sapling into the river bottom, a little distance from the bank. When the people came, he said, "A flood is coming!" The people moved on. When they had moved on a bit, he, behind their backs, moved the sapling farther from the bank toward the middle of the river, and

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ngillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ngillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ngillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story.

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Cañaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked.

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filupoñi (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Cañaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him.

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultrun (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kullkull and the kuymi (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifulka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifulka, trutruka, and kultrun are used at the ngillatun; the kultrun and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 736) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study.

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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as purun. They are danced at the ñillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word purun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ñillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as purun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gime, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the purun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at
539 any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

You, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have entrusted my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

[278] By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

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Formalized conversation, probably the keyaqtun, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother: [531]

An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl rushed her child under her poncho and rushed away with the one that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian.

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following: [539]

Negro—name not known—word, spoken, "Children, your God is supposed. He wants the nation sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill three rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had risen to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any further; Jesus has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Whites." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, packed the gold and silver into it, and then rode down they packed all the slaves. Most they packed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were packed down a seventh ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it can still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Carrilaue Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, as says the legend, remained there very covered for another of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Whites came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have made deeper, but in all probability, when the Whites leave here, they will again move upward.

Kolopun told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolopun, was a child. In recent years Kolopun has told it to children in his neighborhood: [539]

West of Blue Water, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pichaleufu which is still there. About one years ago an earthquake split the earth into

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521 539 upon some stone. A snail went into the opening and ate something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. During this snake a noise like a powerful explosion (as lightning strikes being blown off). Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Nonhuehue. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Rivers then flows down from Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Tronkoso. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Tronkoso so that today Tronkoso looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 276 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence: "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 40 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked occasionally at the gatherings; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of *yaqui* and dead wood of *radi*, or a mixture of crushed leaves of *lun*, was smoked. [illegible] Kolupan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with *radi*, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of *radi* to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bonfires *from* it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called *petrun*; the word *kimikimiñ* was not known to informants; Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out cylinder stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was sometimes flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 56, *f*). Those of antiques and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with *witranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and because a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of ñuchi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fluchi at one gulp, and then toured off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with witranalwe are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call witranalwe the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with witranalwe and other wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are omnipresent, however, and must be dealt with emotionally. The details of the story of the uncle and his neighbors lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the ahuingalwe described earlier. In the Lanquilo region, south of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a male ahuingalwe. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a load

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mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

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The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Cabrairo and Temuco. Kai Kai was a large serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the home of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people confronted Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Tolten region along the coast, is as follows:

Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea lizard, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and created the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Then, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

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In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

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good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people, and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests an internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forbears of its present indigenous occupants.

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The following myth, again one of a type, is one which relates even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the *nillatun* ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of *the conquest of good over evil, and the subjugation of the new* godlike figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Tehuelche version is the story of Trenelcoihi and Wichekeche (in the period this myth originated, whoke meant plunderer or an raider). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours).

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There were two sons from this port [around Tehuelche] who set out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many canoeists, the relatives of these men, who felt great concern at their untimely death. These guys were well liked, and were leaders [leaders] of their people.

In Quelleche [between Villarrica and the modern town of Lonquimay] there lived a powerful kalku, who sent a message to the canoeists. The message said that the kalku would provide, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was that the canoeists had to come to the house of the kalku within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the canoeists were unable to arrive before the

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• 539 eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her rehü. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Trimalwida and Winkalwida, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a füllatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word füllatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is how the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way füllatun originated among the Mapuche.

[MK] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *leñerufuche*, whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquián, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquián. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquián managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquián was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquián portrank of the event. Then Manquián began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to

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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding. 539 •

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a fenechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is fillatun. [782]

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *Iafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study. 539 776